

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SEOUL 4175

EXDIS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PDEV, KS, KN

SUBJECT: FOLLOW- UP ON ROK FOREIGN POLICY CHANGES

REF: A. SEOUL 4087; B. STATE 124664; C. USUN 2364

1. MY DISCUSSION WITH FONMIN KIM (REF A) INDICATED THAT WE MUST BE PREPARED TO TABLE OUR OWN VIEWS SOON ON HOW TO PROCEED IN FOLLOWING UP ON JUNE 23 FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVE. THE KOREANS ARE LOOKING TO US TO COME UP WITH CONCRETE PROPOSALS. SUCH PROPOSALS SHOULD PROVIDE THE FRAMEWORK IN WHICH DISCUSSIONS CAN BE HELD IN SEOUL, AND WITH OUR ALLIES AT THE UN AND AS NECESSARY IN KEY CAPITALS. FONMIN KIM UNDERSTANDS OUR VIEW THAT QUESTIONS RELATING TO UNC CAN BE APPROACHED IN MORE DELIBERATE MANNER. HOWEVER, HE DOES EXPECT US TO HAVE AT LEAST INITIAL VIEWS ON UNGA TACTICS AND OUR PACKAGE FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE MAJOR COMMUNIST POWERS. IF WE WAIT TOO LONG BEFORE CONTINUING OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH ROKG WE RUN THE RISK OF THEIR DEVELOPING UNACCEPTABLE OR AT LEAST DIFFICULT FORMULATIONS WHICH WE WILL BE IN THE POSITION OF TRYING TO MODIFY.

2. AS WE DEVELOP OUR POSITION, I THINK IT IMPORTANT THAT WE KEEP IN MIND THAT OUR PURPOSES AT UNGA ARE NOT SATISFIED
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IF DIRECTED MERELY AT DISSOLUTION OF UNCURK AND UNC. ROKG FLEXIBILITY ON UN ISSUE (AND OUR OWN) SHOULD BE LOOKED UPON AS OFFERING THE POSSIBILITY OF PRACTICAL AND REALISTIC ARRANGEMENTS RETARDING KOREA, WHICH WOULD ASSURE PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE AREA. THIS INVOLVES CONTACTS WITH RUSSIANS AND CHINESE IN THE HOPE NEW ROK REALISM WILL STIMULATE EQUALLY REALISTIC REACTIONS FROM THE COMMUNIST SIDE. IT MAY BE THAT COMMUNIST SIDE WILL BE UNRESPONSIBLE, FORCING US INTO ANOTHER ROUND OF TACTICAL MANEUVERS AT UNGA. WE MUST BE PREPARED FOR THIS. HOWEVER, WE CAN HOPEFULLY AVOID GETTING IMMESSED SOLELY IN MECHANICS OF HOW TO GET RID OF UNCURK AND HOW TO HANDLE DEBATE, WITHOUT ANY REFERENCE TO OUR BROADER OBJECTIVES.

3. ROKG SETS GREAT STORE BY POSSIBILITY OF GREAT POWER ARRANGEMENTS TO ASSURE PEACE AND, ON COMMUNIST SIDE, TO RESTRAIN ANY FUTURE NORTH KOREAN AGGRESSION. IT EXPECTS US TO PROBE SERIOUSLY USSR AND PRC REACTIONS IN EFFORT TO WORK OUT SATISFACTORY UNDERSTANDINGS OR ARRANGEMENTS. IN EXCHANGE FOR TWO KOREAS IN THE UN, DISSOLUTION OF UNCURK AND, IF NECESSARY, UNC, ROKG WANTS QUOTE RECOGNITION UNQUOTE BY MAJOR COMMUNIST POWERS, DE FACTO ACCEPTANCE OF CONTINUED PRESENCE OF US FORCES, AND SOME AGREEMENT ON AVOIDING OR DAMPENING UN DEBATE ON KOREA.

4. IN EVENT OF NEGATIVE COMMUNIST RESPONSE TO ROK INITIATIVE, AND OUR OWN OVERTURES, WE WOULD STILL BE IN GOOD TACTICAL POSITION AT UPCOMING UNGA TO REBUFF COMMUNIST EFFORTS TO PUT ROKG AND OURSELVES ON DEFENSIVE. BY USING ROK WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT DUAL MEMBERSHIP, NORTH KOREAN PARTICIPATION IN DEBATE AND THE DISSOLUTION OF UNCURK, ROKG HOPES WE COULD CONTAIN PRESSURES FOR TERMINATION OF UNC AND WITHDRAWAL OF U. S. FORCES, AS WELL AS SLOW INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE OF NORTH KOREA (THERE IS WISHFUL THINKING BY ROKG ON LAST POINT).

5. THUS, AT THIS POINT WE NEED TO INFORM ROKG OF OUR VIEWS ON WHETHER, WHEN AND WITH WHAT WE PROPOSE TO APPROACH THE PRC AND THE USSR. THIS SHOULD ENCOMPASS THE ELEMENTS MENTIONED IN PARA 4 ABOVE.

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6. WE NEED ALSO TO DETERMINE WHAT TACTICS, ALTERNATIVES AND CONTINGENCIES WE WILL FOLLOW AT UNGA. IN EFFECT, THIS DETERMINATION MAY ACQUIRE WAITING TO SEE WHAT MAY BE POSSIBLE BY ARRANGEMENT WITH THE OTHER SIDE. BUT WE NEED ALSO TO HOLD OFF PREMATURE ACTION BY ROKG OR OTHERS ON SUCH THINGS AS DISSOLUTION OF UNCURK, OR APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP IN UN, UNTIL WE CAN GAUGE THE OVERALL

SITUATION WE FACE. MEANWHILE, WE SHOULD BE IN A POSITION
TO DISCUSS SUCH THINGS AS THE DIFFERENT WAYS IN WHICH
UNCURK COULD BE DEALT WITH, HOW SEATING OR MEMBERSHIP
RESOLUTIONS MAY BE FRAMED, AND HOW WE WILL DEAL WITH AN
ALGERIAN- TYPE RESOLUTION.
HABIB

NOTE BY OC/ T: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER S/ S- O - MR. WRIGHT.

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